1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

names and salutations they give to one another, as we shall see in the next chapter. A few of the younger men seemed to have accurate knowledge of their ages, and building up on this basis, and with a knowledge of the relative ages of the different members of the community, it became possible to arrive at estimates which probably do not deviate very widely from the correct ages; even in the case of the older people, I do not believe that my estimated ages are likely to be more than five years out in any case. As already mentioned (see p. 416), the Todas make use, in the estimation of age, of their belief in the eighteen-year period of a flower, and the ages so estimated in a few cases agreed fairly with those arrived at in other ways.

Among those now alive, it seemed that the usual time which separates the birth of two children of the same mother is about three years, and I have taken this time as the rule in estimating the ages of all those whose names are included in the genealogies. Similarly, so far as I could tell, women begin to bear children when about eighteen to twenty years of age.

The ages of the four groups given in the table on p. 474 were calculated on the assumptions that a woman had her first child when twenty years old, and that the interval between the births of two children was three years.

The oldest Toda now living is Kiugi (57). He looks an extremely old man, and is said by the Todas to be nearly a hundred years of age. There is evidence which makes it probable that he is at least eighty or ninety. Kòrs, the father of Kiugi, performed the *pursütpimi* ceremony before the birth of Teitchi (52) (see p. 564). Teitchi's grandson, Kuriolv, is now about fifty-four years of age. When Kòrs gave the bow and arrow he may have been only a young boy, and if we assume that he was fifteen years old, that Teitchi and Pareivan had their first children when twenty years old, and that the interval between the birth of Pilzink and that of Pareivan was six years, it would make the age of Kòrs, if he were still alive, 115. If Kiugi was born when his father was twenty years old, it would make his age ninety-five. If, on the other hand, we assume that Kòrs gave the bow and arrow when

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

128 only ten years of age, and that he did not have his first
165 child till he was thirty, it would make Kiugi's age eighty. Kiugi's eldest child, if alive, would now probably be about sixty, and this supports the view that the lowest possible estimate of Kiugi's age is eighty, and he is not improbably a good deal older.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAPTER VII.

THE FAMILY.

Parturition—Midwives—Confinements—Infanticidal Mother taken red-handed—Name this Child—Men's Names—Nicknames—Women's Names—How married people call to one another—List of Relationships.

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844
[165]

THE act of bringing forth children seems very generally to be considered an easy one. In the course of my enquiries into the causes of death amongst adult women, I was told of two who had died in labour. If I were to judge solely by the opinions of the male sex, I should have no hesitation whatever in recording that the process of child-birth was a mere trifle: yet even after seeking more correct information from the women themselves, I could arrive at no other conclusion than that parturition, though a delicate matter, was an act which almost invariably passed off without great difficulty.

Men are never present during these family events, but apparently have to await the result outside. Three or four women—the house-full in fact—remain in attendance; one of whom is said to sit behind the patient supporting her frame: the others performing various offices tending to alleviate pain, and for the reception of the infant.

May not the ill-understood expression, 'She shall bear upon my knees,' Gen. xxx. 3, have reference to the position in which we find the person, who with a knee on each side of the expectant mother, squats behind to support her body?

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

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The precise number of Mands occupied at any one time, has not been ascertained, but the best authorities consider them to be not less than 40. Hence, by a short calculation, we find that the tribe consisted, in 1870, of not less than 407 males + 306 females, or 713 souls; of whom 258 were men in the prime of life.

Now, if the Report from which I have just quoted,[1] should be correct, it would appear that the tribe has more than doubled in about 23 years; and the opportunity, has been lost to me; of witnessing the process, and of ascertaining the causes, by means of which a race may die out. With every desire for the happiness of existing Todas, I still grieve to have been deprived of the interesting study.

It is very much to be lamented that no vital statistics exist of the people: and that such as I have been able to collect, cannot be depended upon, absolutely; being merely approximate.

1. Of the 196 people found noted in the Census Table,[2] I ascertained by personal inspection that there were only 2 cases of natural malformation; viz., in the village of Koanakoar, a young woman who was a cripple from birth: in Keshkir, a girl squinting with one eye.

2. Only 3 people possessed defects that would either tend to shorten life or to evidence the probability of its soon drawing to a close; viz., in Ebgodu, a man nearly deaf and blind from old age: in the same village an infant with a skin disease: and in Kirzho, a middle-aged man in bad general health.

Many were scored on the shoulder as a remedy for rheumatism. One woman was in quarantine after child-birth. And one woman was blind of an eye from a spark of fire having flown into it. It is said that contagious disease is not uncommon, but I am greatly disposed to doubt the statement, as applied to the present day. None came before me marked by smallpox. A case of leprosy was met with; but as the

[1] [See p. 102, category 116 -- Analyst]
[2] [See pp. 98 and 99, category 116 -- Analyst]

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

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man afflicted with that dreadful malady, was not amongst the 196 people of the census, the case cannot be used in these calculations.

As regards the general appearance of the people; a large proportion of both sexes and of all ages are doubtless in excellent health. Up to the age of fourteen, the children are certainly, and almost universally, hale and hearty. The young women look well, too: but the young men are often bottle-nosed, with a general appearance of deficient circulation, insufficient food, and of athletic exercise. Nature seems to make competent arrangements, by means of which the female sex is able to bear children during the extra period that young men require for the purpose of completing their growth. It is probably a consequence or a portion of this design, that renders girls as a general rule more easy to rear than boys. Be that as it may, these rather weedy youths fill out in course of time, and complete their features with mature age—the large nose is rarely, or perhaps never, apparent in the young; and seems not to attain its climax till near the age of thirty—the women in advanced years are often draggled in appearance, from poverty and child-bearing. The full-grown men look strong and well.

Now for our examination into the augmentation of the numbers of the people.

If we allow, that out of the 3 people recorded in paragraph (x) to be in a state of health unfavourable to prolonged existence, 2 die in the course of the year. And suppose that another 2 die in the same period from other causes—a high rate for those who, living a pastoral and quiet life in a healthy climate, are exposed to few vicissitudes—we have then 4 deaths amongst 196 people, in the course of twelve months; or 2 per cent. per annum, as the extreme death-rate for *all ages*.

In the years between 1838 and 1861, the average ratio of mortality in Great Britain—a country in which high civilisa-

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

tion and competition, expose its people to vicissitudes from which the Toda is entirely exempt—was 1 in 45, or 2·23 per cent. per annum.[6]

λ. We shall find in a succeeding chapter on Infanticide, Table No. 7,[1] that of 26 M + 20 F, or 46 children, who—judging from the ages of the mothers—were of different ages, varying from 1 to 20 years, 5 died. In other words, 10·87 per cent. of children born, die of *youthful* maladies.

μ. If, from the same Table, we calculate the number of children, whose mothers being less than 27 years must themselves be under 10 years of age, we see that of 23 born, 3 died; or that 13 per cent. died of *infantile* disorders.

An average taken of the mortality of several countries in Europe, gives 38·3 per cent. of children who died in the year 1825, 'from birth to the age of 10.'[7]

Not to fatigue my readers with further preliminaries, I will now submit the brief calculation which is to show whether the Todas are dying out or increasing in numbers; and at what rate of progress. Mathematical accuracy cannot, with justice, be expected; for, even with the most perfect census possible, there are obvious reasons why exactness is unattainable. I will premise, in the words of Dugald Stewart, that 'the rate at which the multiplication of different races would go, seems to depend on the following particulars; (1) the age at which the parent becomes prolific; (2) the time that elapses in pregnancy; (3) the frequency of breeding; (4) the numbers of each brood; (5) the period during which the parent continues prolific.'[8]

Suppose then we begin our reckoning with 177 married Todas of both sexes. Paragraph (ζ) of this chapter informs us that of this 177, there will be 100 men and 77 women.

Tables Nos. 6 and 7[2] show that the average of women—

[6] Adam Smith, 'The Wealth of Nations.'
[7] Malthus, 'Essay on the Principle of Population.'
[8] Dugald Stewart, 'Lectures on Political Economy.'

1. [See p. 120, Category 116 -- Analyst]
2. [See pp. 119 and 120, Category 116 -- Analyst]

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

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including a proportion of the sterile—bear children for 20 years, at the rate of 6 children for each woman.

163 We know from paragraph (λ), that of 100 children born, 165 10·87 die before they attain to the age of 20.

The natural death-rate of *all ages* is allowed in paragraph (*) to stand at 2 per cent. per annum; which rate is here taken for the proportion of *adults* only, who die—a very high figure. Hence 18·29 per cent. will give the number of deaths during the ten years which forms the *mean* period of child-bearing.

Calculation.

77 Number of women who commence to bear children.

77–18·29= 58·71 Average number of women who bear children for 20 years.

Then

58·71 × 6 = 352·26 Number of children born to those women at the expiration of 20 years.

Deduct

52·26 + 10·87 = 32·41 The number of children who die before attaining 20 years.

319·85 The number of children who survive at the expiration of 20 years.

During these 20 years, the original 177 people have decreased by 2 per cent. per annum; or 33·21 per cent. = 58·78.

Thus

177–58·78 = 118·22

438·07

161 We see therefore that in the course of 20 years, the 177 Todas have theoretically expanded to 438. Thus doubling in 16·2 years. 'In the back settlements of America, where

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

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65 years down to the youngest married women, if we would trace the abatement of infanticide.

847 It is much to be regretted that the statistics of Table No. 8
162 do not afford a record so complete as could be desired; even
847 to the degree I had fondly calculated on their doing, in the
163 course of our careful enquiries in the field. The instances, though certainly few in number, should distinctly have pointed to the change that was being effected in the course of forty-eight years; by enabling us to trace some sort of declining scale in the contrast of the sexes. The disproportion between males and females is indeed great in the Table, but it neither increases nor lessens in any form of sequence.

I have allowed the Table a place in these pages, despite its acknowledged deficiencies, and notwithstanding that the statistics, taken by themselves, give every appearance of the venerable practice being in full vigour, whilst I am fully convinced by the circumstantial evidences which I have given, that such is not the truth. I have done so, because it thus obtains a value, in showing that *the practice of infanticide may be extinct, whilst statistics indicate its actual prevalence:* that, in fact, the strange numerical difference in the sexes, which the census shows to amount to 25 per cent., implies with certainty, only that infanticide has *lately* been practised. If the custom were in its fullest possible force, consistent with the preservation of the race, the sexual divergence would be as great as 100 to 33·3; a proportion which allows one girl on an average, to every family—with less than which allowance, the race could not survive.

My readers will have noticed in Chapter XI. the suggestion, that a curious result of long continued infanticide, has been to create a male-producing variety of the human race.

● 165 It will be observed that in the Table[1] the proportion of females who have died, to 100 males, is 65·6: whilst of those alive, it is 72·6. This discrepancy bears evidence to the inaccuracy of the statistics. Judging from the circumstances

[1] [See p. 197, Category 163 -- Analyst]

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

attending the census, and the personal care bestowed on it, to obtain genuine results, I have every reason to think that the record of those *alive*, is as nearly correct as possible: but I have not the same confidence as regards those who had died. I attribute much of this inaccuracy to the imperfect memory of the people, in describing events long past—a person once dead, being rarely talked about—but very largely also to their habit of ignoring the gentler sex.

That such a habit should really exist, was suggested to my mind, on observing how much girls were left out of count when they described the numbers in families, and of how great importance the birth of a son was esteemed. If a Toda is asked how many children—kinmokh—he has, his reply will almost invariably be, so many sons—mokh:[9] and if further information is desired as to his daughters, one has to specify tûjmokh. On one occasion a father replied to the usual enquiry, 'I have five sons.' 'Where are they?' 'There—1, 2, 3, 4, 5.' I could only see four. Two or three times the numbers were gone over, each time the man gravely counting five, I finding only four. So, pointing to each in succession, I enumerated 1—2—3—4. Where is the fifth? 'There,' he said, pointing to his *wife*, who quietly nodded approval. It seems that the good woman had not yet given birth to the child which both parents had agreed to consider a *son*!

Viewing human action, ever as the resultant of many forces —passions, necessities, emotions, habits—pulling in divers directions, with various degrees of strength; we find that the Todas very early in the world's history, practically solved the difficult physical problem of finding the condition of equilibrium of those especial forces which affected them; how, in fact, to *stand still* in a world, the law of whose nature is that of perpetual change—a remarkable example of the

[9] Mr. Metz asserts positively that the word mokh is used by the Todas for *son*, and not for *child*. In other Drâvidian dialects it may have expanded in its application so as to mean children, both male and female.